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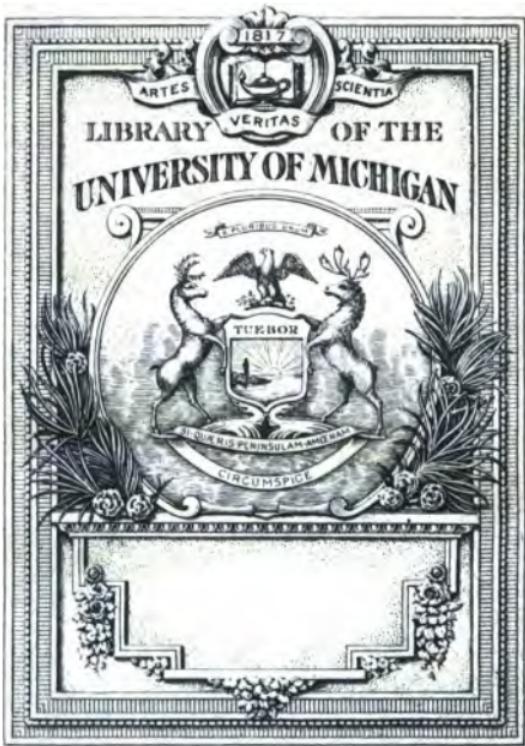
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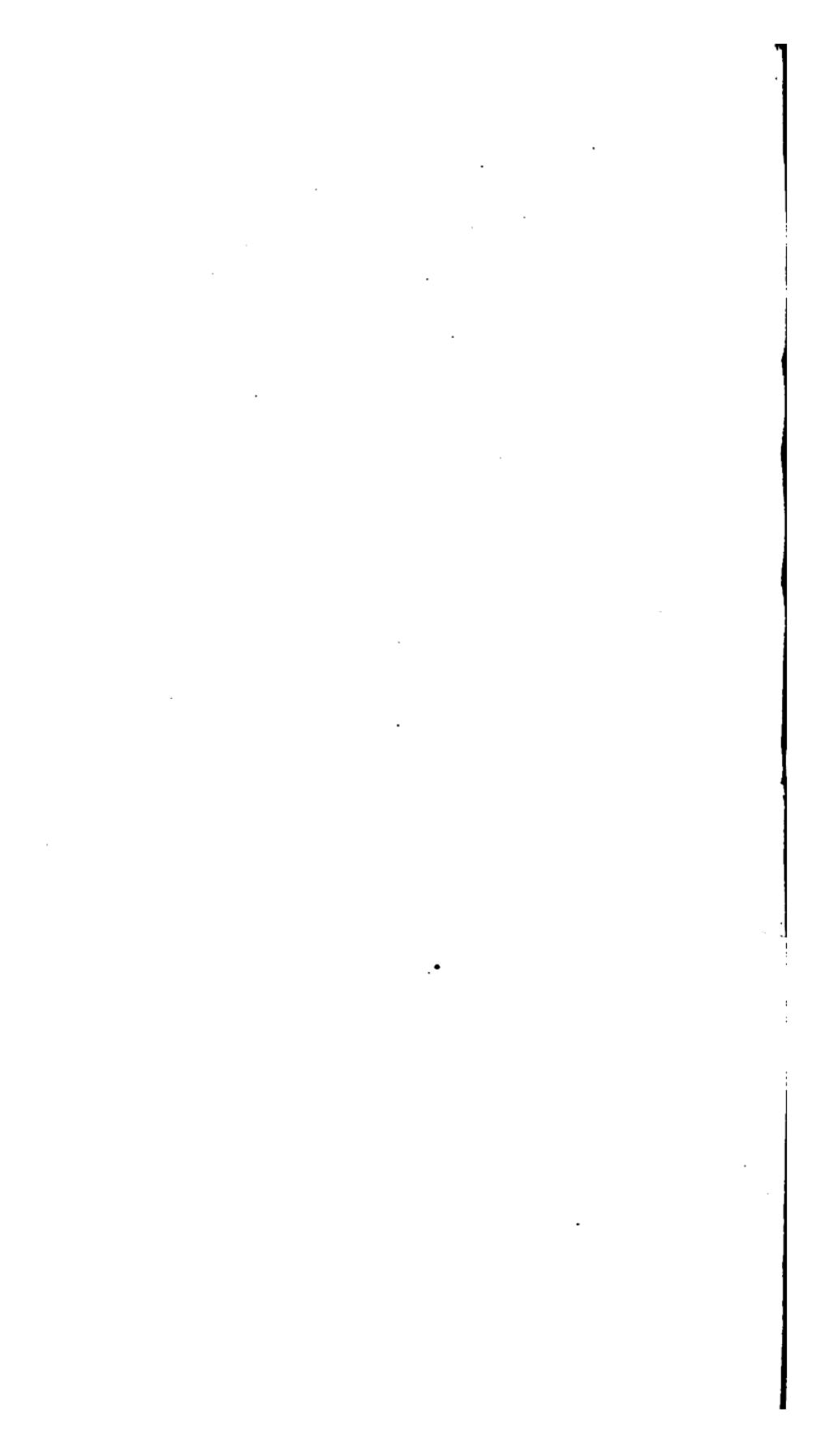
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LETTER

To His EXCELLENCE

Mr. ULRICK D'Y PRES,

Chief Minister to the

King of *S P A R T A.*

In ANSWER to his

EXCELLENCE's Two Epistles Lately

Published in the DAILY COURANT.

With a Word or Two to the *Hyp-Doctor*,
Mr. Osborne, and *Mr. Walsingham*; All
joint Advocates for his *Spartan Majesty*.

By EUSTACE BUDGELL Esq;

— Sic obrutus undique telis,
— Nubem bellum dum Detinet omnem
Sustinet. —

VIRG.

*There cannot a greater Judgment befall a Country than such
a dreadful Spirit of Division, as rends a Government
into two distinct People.*

*We should not any longer regard our Fellow-Subjects as
Whigs or Tories; but should make the Man of Merit
our Friend, and the Villain our Enemy.*

ADDISON'S SPECTATOR. N^o. 125.

L O N D O N :

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by the Booksellers of London and Westminster.

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Just Publish'd,

(With a Frontispiece design'd by Vanderbank,
and engraved by Vandergucht)

The Second Edition of,

A LETTER to the King of Sparta, from
Eustace Budgell Esq; With an Account of
the Manners and Government of the Greeks and
Romans, and Reflections thereon.

Interspersed with several Curious and Uncommon
Pieces of History, relating to Love and
Politicks; and with a great many Stories, pri-
vate Memoirs, and Characters of the Ancients
and Moderns, viz. of Cleomenes, Lycurgas, Acro-
tatus and Chelidonis, Clitophenes, Coriolanus,
Agesistrata, Cratesiclea, Tyrtæus, Pyrrhus, Isadas,
Pericles, Cimon, Thucydides, Marius, and Julian
the Apostate: Of Sir Robert Carr, Oliver Crom-
well, the late Duke of M—gb, the Earl of
Ox—d, Earl of H—x, Earl of Sb—ry,
Mr. L—w, the Lord Bo—ke, Mr. Secre-
tary Add—n, Mr. Con—ve, Dutchess of
M—gb, Countess of Ox—d, and others.

Printed for A. Moore, and sold by the Book-
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7 s. 6 d.

N. B. This is the Book which gave Occasion to
the several Papers and Pamphlets mention'd
in the foregoing Letter to Mr. Ulrick D'Ypres.

Just published;

Dedicated to the QUEEN,

A New and most Beautiful Edition in Quarto, of,

*A POEM upon his Majesty's late Journey to
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BUDGELL Esq;*

*To this New Edition is added some Ob-
servations on the said POEM. By Caleb D'Anvers,
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Dedicated to the late Earl of HALIFAX,

*(With the Head of Theophrastus, from Sandrat,
and engraved by Vertue,)*

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Translated from the Greek, by EUSTACE
BUDGELL Esq; The Third Edition.*

*N. B. This is the Book which the Honourable
Francis Walsingham Esq; assures the Publick
is translated from the French; and about
which this Ingenious Author, and the late
Mr. Addison, are of different Opinions.*

*Printed for J. TONSON, over-against Ca-
tharine-Street in the Strand.*



A

LETTER

To His EXCELLENCE

Mr. ULRICK D'YPRES,

Chief Minister to the

King of *SPARTA.*

Mr. *ULRICK,*



S soon as I saw the first of your two Learned Epistles in the *Daily Courant*, I determined to make a proper Reply to it; but was resolved to see what your Associates and Brother-Writers had also to

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say to me, before I took up my Pen. I do not think I shall make any mighty Compliment to myself, as an Author, when I very frankly tell you the Reason of this my Resolution.

I AM humbly of Opinion, that it would have been a little below me to have taken notice of any of you singly ; but I shall now act after the same Manner I have hitherto done, and truss up *four* or *five* of you together. I address my Epistle to yourself, most illustrious Mr. Ulrick D'Ypres, because your Excellency is at present in a more Eminent Station than either the *Hyp-Doctor*, Mr. Osborne, or Mr. Walsingham ; though what Preferment the *Parts* and *Learning* of these several Gentlemen may in *Time* entitle them to, *Time* only can discover.

WHEN I published my *Letter to the King of Sparta*, I was fully prepared for an Attack from his Majesty's Mercenaries, headed by

by your Excellency : I am only surprized that your Excellency should take your Title from a Town in *Flanders*, when you are so lately arrived from *France* ; and seem so well acquainted, and so much *enamoured* with the *Policy* and *Government* of that *free* and happy Nation.

IN order to prove what I am saying, It is very remarkable, that ever since your Excellency has taken the *Daily Courant* into your Care and Protection, we have hardly been entertained with any other News in that extraordinary Paper, but Accounts from *France* of Prosecutions against some Books and Papers, which the *French* Court have interpreted into *Libels* ; and of *Acts of Power* and *Severity* against several Persons, who, some People think, are the best and most valuable Men in all *France*.

You entertained us the other Day with the Detail of a Proceeding against the Bishop

(4)

of *Montpelier*, upon the Account of a Piece which that learned Prelate has lately published, and which the *French* Court thought proper to call a *Libel*.

I COULD not, however, help making this comfortable Reflection upon your Excellency's notable Piece of Intelligence : I was pleased to find, for the sake of *Liberty*, that even in *France* they had *one Bishop* among them, who did not think it a *necessary* Part of his *Office* and *Character*, to run into all the Measures of a Court, or *blindly* to obey the *Orders* of the infallible old Gentleman at *Rome*, even though those Orders were backed, by all the Power and Authority of a Cardinal Minister.

IT is extreamly remarkable, that in the very *Daily Courant*, where your Excellency has fallen so unmercifully upon my Book, you have contrived to have the following Piece of News inserted immediately after your *Letter*.

P A

PARIS.

“ THE following Arrêt of Parliament has
 “ been published here, condemning a *Libel*
 “ to be torn and burnt by the Hands of the
 “ Common Hangman, intitled, *The Answer*
 “ of a Counsellor, &c.”

UPON this *important Article* your Excellency is so kind, as to give us the very Speech of Master *Peter Gilbert de Voisius*, Advocate to the *French King*; a Post which answers to that of *Attorney-General* in *England*. Master *Peter Gilbert*, according to your Excellency’s Account of him, began his Learned Harrangue before the Parliament of *Paris* in these Words:

Gentlemen,

“ WE have never seen a more virulent and mischievous *Libel*, than
 “ that which is just come to our Hands.”

And your Excellency informs us, that Master Peter concluded with this Emphatical Period :

“ We cannot believe such a Paper capable of making any Impression, but it is never the less wicked for that ; and since it has ventured abroad, that Scandal cannot be too soon expiated by the Flames.”

I SHALL not pretend to guess what your Excellency is aiming at by all these fine Things ; but I beg Leave to say, that before my Countrymen, the *English*, are thoroughly qualify'd for relishing some Parts of the *French Policy* and *Government*, it is absolutely necessary they should all wear *Wooden Shoes* ; and that if your Excellency has any Thoughts of introducing this Fashion, you ought, in order to have made the whole Nation leap into it at once, to have brought over with you a Body of at least Fifty Thousand

and *French Shoe-Makers*: These Gentlemen, properly mounted, would soon have dispersed themselves over *Great Britain*; for I am told that the *French Shoe-Makers* are, generally speaking, very diligent in their Calling, and almost as good Horsemen as our *English Dragoons*. It is certain there are several Parts of the *French Policy*, which a plain *English* Understanding will hardly fall in love with, till some *Pains* is taken, to shew him the *Beauties* of them.

FOR Instance; The *French Monarchs* have a Power by a *Lettre de Cachet*, or *Privy Seal*, to whip up any of their Subjects, and send them to the *Bastile*; where some of them have been treated so kindly, that they never went home afterwards, or made the least Complaint to any of their Friends: But what has made the People of *England* extreamly cautious how they lodged any such *extraordinary Powers* in the *Crown*, is from their having observed, that such *Powers* have been almost constantly

employed by some worthless Minister; not for the *Good of the Publick*, but to gratify his own *Private Revenge*.

I BEG Leave to tell your Excellency a short Story, which I have great Reason to believe is true.

WHEN the late Sir *John Vanbrugh* was in *Paris*, there was a *French Lady* in the same City, who, with a good deal of *Wit* and *Beauty*, had a very elegant Tast of *Pleasure*. Her Fortune was but small; and this unlucky Circumstance prevailed on her to admit the Visits of a *modern Politician*, whose eminent *Post* in the Government enabled him to furnish her with *Money*. This Lady happened accidentally to become acquainted with Sir *John Vanbrugh*; and soon found the vast Difference between the Conversation of a *Man of Wit*, and that of a *disagreeable Blockhead*, whom, Providence for the Sins of *France*, had permitted to become

a State-

a *Statesman*. In order, therefore, to make herself some Amends for being obliged to endure the Company of a very *silly Fellow*, she contrived in his Absence, to enjoy the Conversation of a *Man of Sense* as often as she could. The Politician, (whose Conscience informed him, that a Woman of any *Taste* must heartily despise him, and who was therefore excessively jealous) made a Shift at last to find out the Intreague; and with a *Baseness*, natural to *Fools and Tyrants*, immediately resolved to employ all the Power his *Post* gave him, to be revenged upon his happy Rival. He took up Sir *John Vanbrugh* with a *Lettre de Cachet*, and hurried him to the *Bastile*. Neither his Mistress, nor any of his Friends, knew what was become of him: Our Countryman lay for six Years together closely confined in the *Bastile*, and must in all Probability have ended his Life in that Prison, if he had not had his Wits about him, and Providence on his Side.

IT is Time I should take Notice of your Excellency's Satirical Observations upon my Book.

YOUR Excellency says, that you "laughed at the *Insinuation*, that a Great Minister had entered into a Confederacy with an Attorney, to involve me in unjust and expensive Law-Suits." I know not what *Insinuations*, or *Innuendoes*, your Excellency may have discovered in my Book by the Help of your *Political Spectacles*; but, I must own, I have not altogether so good an Opinion of *Ministers* in general, as your Excellency seems to have. I have, in my Time, been pretty well acquainted with some of them; and have known a little *Creature* in a great *Post* (who would fain have passed for a great *Minister*) guilty of a more *base* and *pitiful* Action, than what your Excellency fancies is hinted at in that

Insinuation.

Information of mine, with which you tell us you was so highly diverted.

WHILE your Excellency is in this *merry Mood*, you are pleased to be most unmercifully witty upon my poor *Lucubrations*; and observe with great Acuteness, that the *Bookseller's Shop* is their *natural Dormitory*.

I WILL, for once, let your Excellency into a *Secret*: I was so much afraid myself, that they might have been *taken napping* in some of their *natural Dormitories* here in *Town*, that I took Care to have a convenient Number of them sent into the *Country*, before I suffered one of them to *snore* in *London*: There are, at present, a good reasonable Quantity of them in some of the remotest Parts of *England*; and, though it is very possible, that after so long a Journey they may *themselves* be disposed to *rest*; I do not

not hear that any of their *Readers* fall *asleep* over them.

To tell your Excellency the Truth, the very Design of my Book, however it may succeed, is, to keep all my Country-folks, as well the *Women* as the *Men*, thoroughly *awake*.

I HAVE endeavoured to shew, that it is the *Duty* of all Persons of both Sexes, to have an hearty *Zeal* and *Love for their Country's* and that even the *fair Sex* ought thus far to be Politicians; That the *Grecian* and *Roman Ladies* have, upon several Occasions, *saved* their Country, which, without their Assistance, had been certainly *destroyed*.

I HAVE endeavoured to give all my Readers some Notions of the Government, Manners, and Policy of the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*; not by a Parcel of *dry Precepts* and *Observations*, but by laying before them several

veral *Facts* and *Pieces of History*, which, I hope, are equally *curious* and *instructive*.

I HAVE endeavoured, as Occasion offered, from the very *Beginning* to the *End* of my Book, thoroughly to inculcate that *great Maxim* in Politicks, to which every State has owed its *Grandeur* and *Happiness*; and which, when any Government neglects to observe, such a Government must become *mean* and *despicable* in the Eyes of its Neighbours, and *destructive* at length to that miserable People who have the Misfortune to live under it.

LASTLY, I have a Discourse upon the *Liberty of the Press*; with which I find your Excellency is highly offended.

I HAVE endeavoured to shew how absolutely necessary this *Liberty* is in a Nation that would preserve its *Freedom*; that when in

in King James's Reign there was a Design to have made us compleat *Slaves*, one of the first Steps taken towards it, was the laying a *Restraint* upon the *Press*; and that two or three wicked Ministers resolved, their ill-advised *Prince* and the wretched *Nation* should read nothing in *Print* but weekly *Panegyricks* upon themselves and their Proceedings. I have endeavoured to shew, that the *Liberty of the Press* is the most likely Thing, to prevent any Wicked Minister, who might get above the Reach of the Law, from daily committing the most horrid and tyrannical Actions; but that a Minister with common Sense, and common Management, and one whose Conduct will bear being *defended*, need not be afraid of the *Liberty of the Press*.

I HAVE shewn how fully this Liberty is at present enjoyed in *China*, the *largest*, the *richest*, and the *best-governed* Empire in the World; and in what Manner it is made to be

be the strongest, the most effectual Check, upon the *Life* and *Actions* of the Emperor himself. I have shewn in how *unbounded* a Manner this *Liberty* was made use of both at *Rome* and *Athens*, while those two Glorious Commonwealths had the least Shadow of *Freedom* left among them.

Among other Instances, I have shewn what Liberties the *Athenian* Writers took with *Pericles*, by whose scandalous Administration that mighty State lost all her former Glory and Reputation, and was at length utterly *ruined* and *destroyed*.

As no Parts of History are more instructive than those which shew by what *Means* and *Errors* the best Constitutions have been over-turned, I have been pretty particular in giving my Readers an Account of *Pericles*, and his Exploits.

I am

I am a little surpriz'd to find that it is this Part of my Book with which your Excellency is chiefly displeased ; and that (for Reasons best known to *yourself*) you have undertaken to defend one of the most *worthless* and *wicked Creatures*, that ever pretended to set up for a *Statesman*.

I HAVE shewn that his *Eloquence*, upon which he chiefly valued himself, was nothing more than what the French call, *A Flux de Bouche*, A prodigious *Volubility* and *Flow of Words*, delivered with a most *consummate Assurance* ; but that none of his Speeches had any real *Strength* and *Solidity*, or would bear being *read*.

I HAVE proved this, from *Thucydides* and *Quintilian* ; two Persons, who were, perhaps, as good Judges of Eloquence, as ever the World yet produced. I have likewise shewn, that this was the *natural Consequence* of his having

having learnt his *superficial Way of Prating* from a *Woman*; who was the most notorious and impudent Strumpet in all *Athens*.

I HAVE shewn how this *Prating Fellow*, having plundered the *Publick Treasury* of all the Wealth which had been collecting many Years, *corrupted* the *Athenians* with their *own Money*, and made them *purchase* their own *Chains*.

I HAVE shewn in what Manner he subverted the *Constitution*, and abolished the Power of the *Areopagites*: That he most basely forged a *Plot*, for no other Reason, but in order to banish one of the best and greatest Men that either *Athens*, or any other Country ever saw: That when he had banished the most valuable Persons in the Commonwealth who opposed his Measures, he grew *jealous* of the most *able* Men among his own Friends; and with the most horrid Barbarity and Ingratitude, caused the Orator *Ephialtes*, who had been of in-

nite Service to him, to be *privately assassinated*: That he minded nothing but the Interest of *himself* and his *Family*: That he destroyed five thousand of his innocent Fellow-Citizens at once, by Virtue of a most wicked Law, contrived only to satisfy his own *mean Jealousy* and *private Revenge*: That whenever he made a *Peace*, a *War*, or a *Truce*, the Motives he acted upon were equally shameful, and only regarded his own *Interest*: That he raised the *Taxes* at least one *Third* higher than he found them; and is the first Minister, we read of in History, that ever demanded *Secret-Service-Money* from an *Assembly of the People*: That he either put this Money into his own *Pocket*, or employed it to the basest Purposes: That by inventing *Sham-Plots*, and the most wicked Falshoods, he at last divided the *Athenians* into *two Parties*: That he did this with no other View but that he might himself play the Tyrant with the more Security: That in a City, the most famous in the World for

Arts

Arts and Sciences, he never preferred one Man of *Parts* and *Learning*: That while the Wealth of *Greece* ran through his Hands, and he daily squandered immense Sums upon *Pictures* and *Buildings*, he suffered the great and wise *Anaxagoras* (to whom he had the highest *Obligations* one Man could have to another) to want the *Common Necessaries* of Life: That his Usage of this eminent Philosopher reduced him to take up the fatal Resolution of *starving* himself, and *leaving the World*: That upon this Occasion *Pericles* gave the most flagrant Proof which is perhaps to be met with in all History, of his being a most consummate Monster of *Cruelty* and *Hypocrisy*: That he suffered his Country to be *robbed* and *insulted* in the most scandalous Manner by all her Enemies; and even to lose the *Dominion of the Sea*: That he purchased a most shameful *Peace*, partly with *Money*, and partly by yielding up the *Athenian Territories*: That at last, to prevent his being called to an Account

for all those immense Sums he had received and embezzled, he plunged his Country into a bloody and most unnecessary War: That this War, of which he was the sole Author, ended in the Taking of *Athens*, and the utter Destruction of the Commonwealth. I have shewn that the most celebrated *Athenian Writers*, amidst all his *Power and Greatness*, drew his *Picture* in its *proper Colours*; and told their unhappy Countrymen what must be the Consequences of his shameful Administration: That *Pericles*, however nettled, was forced to hear all those *severe Truths* which I have quoted out of several *Writers*; and that though he had trampled upon every *other Part* of the *Athenian Liberties*, he never durst Attempt to make his Countrymen such absolute and compleat *Slaves*, as to *restrain*, or take away the *Liberty of the Press*.

I HAVE proved all the Particulars above mentioned, by plain *Matters of Fact*; and taken every one of those *Facts* out of some ancient

cient Historian. In a Word, this is that *Pericles* whom I have demonstrated to be a Wretch full of the *meanest Jealousies*, hating and afraid of every *Athenian* of Parts and Learning ; and of whom I still conceive I have justly said, that he was in his Nature envious, proud, cruel, avaritious, and impudent ; and this is that *Pericles*, upon whom your Excellency has wrote a *Penegyrick*.

LET us see how you begin it.

YOUR Excellency most roundly asserts That This *Pericles* was an *able Statesman*. Your Excellency does indeed confess, that “ *he had the Misfortune to be pester'd by a few little obscene Poets, the Grubs of Athens.* ” Hark you, Master *Ulrick* ! Some of the Writings of these *Grubs of Athens*, as you are pleased to call them, have already lasted above *two thousand Years* ; and I am humbly of Opinion, will still last for some Ages after the Composi-

tions of your Excellency and Mr. Osborne have been all consumed in proper Uses by *Grocers* and *Pastry-Cooks*.

As to *Pericles*'s being an *Able Statesman*, I have given my Readers a small Sample of his *Abilities*; but they will find a much fuller Account of them in my *Letter to the King of Sprata*: And I shall, with your Excellency's Leave, presume to hope, that Providence will prevent my Native Country from ever falling into the Hands of such an *able Statesman*.

You proceed to inform us, that the *Scurvy Jefts* made upon this *able Statesman*, "though they delighted the RABBLE, (a modest Term for the *People of Athens*,) "disgusted all Men of Sense and Distinction:" I wish you had told us who gave you this Piece of private Intelligence; for I cannot find any such Thing in History. You add that *Pericles* bore these *Scurvy Jefts* with

with an *heroick Serenity*. He did indeed bear them, because he could not help it ; but I am much mistaken, if some of them did not a little discompose the serene Muscles in the Countenance of your *heroick Statesman*. You add, That these same Scurvy Jests, “ *under some of his Successors, drew down a NECESSARY and ABSOLUTE RESTRAINT from such Petulancies.* ”

IF you mean that the *Athenians* had any *Restraint* laid upon their *Pens*, before the Measures of *Pericles* had occasioned the Taking of their City, the Destruction of their Commonwealth, and the subjecting of them to the *horrid Government of the Thirty Tyrants* ; I say, if you mean this, what you assert is *false in Fact* ; The *Athenians*, till all these Calamities were brought upon them by the Administration of *Pericles*, constantly enjoyed the *Liberty of the Press*. The *Blunders* and *Vices* of *Cleon* and *Alcibiades*, whenever they affected the Publick, were exposed

with as much Freedom, as the weak and wicked Politicks of *Pericles*.

You assert, that “ Mr. Budgell says, Pe-
 “ ricles overturned the Athenian Constitu-
 “ tion ; and to prove this cites the Scurrili-
 “ ties of *Comick Poets*.” No, Master *Ulrick*!
 I do indeed say, that *Pericles* overturned
 the *Athenian Constitution* ; and so says every
 Historian who has wrote of those Times :
 I prove what I say, not by Quotations
 out of *Comick Poets*, but by the most no-
 torious and undeniable *Matters of Fact*, ex-
 tracted out of the most *authentick Histories*.
 I shew, indeed, at laſt, that while *Pericles*
 was playing his Pranks, which were equally
ridiculous and *wicked*, the *Comick Poets* did
 not spare him ; but that they, and other *Athe-
 nian Writers*, endeavoured to make their
 Countrymen ſenſible, before it was too late,
 what muſt be the Conſequences of his cor-
 rupt and ſcandalous Administration.

YOUR Excellency proceeds in your Defence of this *able Statesman*: You say that
 " Thucydides does not write like, Mr. Bud-
 " gell, against Pericles, though he was his Foe,
 " and though he was banished by his Means: " --
 That " Thucydides was above employing
 " those leisure Hours which his Exclusion
 " from State Affairs had given him, in writ-
 " ing Lampoons, or publishing Falsoods,
 " even against his most inveterate Enemy. "

BELIEVE me, Master *Ulrick*! whatever you may think, this last notable Paragraph shews nothing, but that you are guilty of such a *Mistake*, as any Man ought to be ashamed of, who makes the least Pretensions to *Letters* or *History*. I do not, however, expect your Excellency should blush: It is not natural to your Family.

ALL the *Learned World* will perceive,
 from your own *Words*, which I have quoted,
 what

what an *egregious Blunder* you are fallen into : But I do not think it incumbent upon me to shew you the Mistake you labour under ; or to correct all the Errors of a Statesman, who may at present plead a prescriptive Right to the glorious and necessary Privilege of *Blundering* : I shall leave you upon *this Article* in the same *State of Ignorance* I found you ; and only tell you, that neither I, nor any of your Readers, should, I believe, have guessed what it was that made you undertake the Defence of so *worthless* and *wicked* a Creature as *Pericles*, if you had not been so extreamly kind as to let us yourself into the Secret. You tell us that “ *I would insinuate a kind of Parallel between Pericles and a certain Gentleman* ;” and it appears that your Excellency has a particular *Tenderness* and *Affection* for this *certain Gentleman*. To which I answer, That in my Book, to which I appeal, I do not give even the least, the most distant Intimation that I design the Character of

of *Pericles* as a Parallel to any Statesmen of this Age: I hope that the *Picture* I have drawn of *Pericles*, which I shall still venture to affirm is a very *just* one, is not so like any *Politician* now living, that all the World must necessarily see the Resemblance: Yet if it be, I must tell your Excellency, it shall be my daily Prayers, that Providence by some Means, or other, will deliver that miserable Nation, who are fallen into the Hands of so wretched and wicked a *Statesman*. The same Cause produces the same Effect. As the most powerful and glorious Commonwealth in all *Greece*, was destroyed by the mean *Jealousies*, the *Follies*, the *Rapaciousness*, the *Weakness*, and the *Wickedness* of *Pericles*, I will venture to affirm, that the most flourishing Kingdom this Day in *Europe*, would certainly be ruined under the Conduct of such another a *Statesman*.

BUT tho' I do insist upon it, that I have no where insinuated there is the least Parallel

Parallel between *Pericles* and a certain Gentleman, I must own I am infinitely surprised to find that your Excellency has been so kind as to insinuate this for me. Your Words are very remarkable: You are pleased to say, “ *you will allow that the Abilities, the Eloquence, and the Opposers of both may give some Room for such a Parallel.* ” Will you so, Master Ulrick ! I am afraid, if I had said thus much, you would have called upon the *secular Power* to have answered me: But since you are pleased to *allow* all this your self, *viz.* That the *Abilities, the Eloquence, and the Opposers of Pericles, may give some Room for a Parallel* between him and a certain Gentleman ; let us see what the *Abilities and Eloquence of Pericles* really were, and what sort of Men were his *Opposers*. As to his *Abilities and Conduct*, I have given a pretty full Account of them, and of the *blessed Consequences* with which they were attended : I have likewise, in my Book, and in the *very Words of Quintilian* and

and *Thucydides*, given an Account of his *Eloquence*, and of his *Method of Managing a Debate in an Assembly of the People*.

To oblige your Excellency, let us now see what sort of Men were his *Opposers*.

EVERY Body knows that the two Men, who were the chief and constant *Opposers* of the wicked and tyrannical Designs of *Pericles*, were *Cimon* and *Thucydides*.

THE first of these was the *greatest General*, and the *best Citizen*, that ever *Athens* bred.

HIS Actions were such as would appear incredible, if all Historians had not in Effect given us the same Account of them : His Valour and Affability render'd *Athens* the Mistress of all *Greece*; He entirely subdued the *Thracians*, subjected all the *Chersonese* to

to the Commonwealth of *Athens*, and built and peopled the City *Amphipolis*.

HE now turned his Arms against the *Persian* Empire, that constant and dreadful Enemy to *Greece*. After a Multitude of great Actions, at last, with a Felicity which no General has yet equalled, he obtained on the same Day, one most glorious Victory at Sea, and another at Land. We are expressly told, that the First of these was greater than the celebrated Victory of *Salamis*; and the last, than that of *Platæa*. The King of *Perſia*, whom the World in that Age called the *great King*, frightened and amazed at these prodigious Successes, was glad to obtain a Peace upon such Conditions as *Cimon* thought fit to grant him; and by a solemn Treaty yielded up the *Dominion of the Sea* so absolutely to the *Athenians*, that he agreed, None of his Gallies, or Men of War, should ever appear for the future between the *Cyænean* and the *Chelidonian* Islands :

Con-

Consequently by this Treaty, the haughty *Persian* could neither enter the *Ægean Sea* by the *Euxine*, nor the *Mediterranean* by the Seas of *Pamphylia*, or *Syria*; and the *Athenians* had a vast **TRADE** secured to them.

IN a Word, *Cimon* carried the Glory of *Athens* to its utmost Height, made her dreaded, or adored by all Nations; nor could any Thing, but a most *scandalous Administration*, have possibly ruined her in a few Years, after all these glorious Successes.

WHEN this great Man had ended his Wars, and was at Leisure to reside in *Athens*, his whole Interest and Estate were always at the Service of *Merit* in *Distress*, and constantly employed in the most *Generous* and *God-like Actions*. If we may believe the Accounts given of him by all Historians, (and I have transcribed the very Words of one of them, in my *Letter to the King of Sparta*,) there was not a single Day passed, in

in which the generous *Cimon*, did not do something more great and noble, than *Pericles* ever did, throughout the whole *Course* of his shameful Life.

SUCH was the Man, Master *Ulrick*, who was the chief *Opposer* of the Designs of *Pericles*; and whom your Hero, having most infamously forged a *Plot*, and corrupted the *Athenians* with all the Money in the Treasury, got banished out of *Athens*, as an *Enemy to his Country*.

THE most considerable Person next to *Cimon*, who was a constant *Opposer* of the Measures of *Pericles*, was the virtuous and Learned *Thucydides*, the greatest *Statesman* in the Age he lived: The Mean Jealousy of *Pericles*, never permitted him to rest, 'till he had also ruined and banished this excellent Man.

GIVE me leave to tell you, Master Ulrick, that the several *Facts* I have here mentioned, are *notorious* and *undeniable*.

If your Excellency will *still allow* and *maintain*, that the *Abilities*, the *Eloquence*, and the *Opposers* of *Pericles*, may give some Room for a *Parallel* between him and a *certain Gentleman*, a Friend of your Excellency's, I believe the most zealous *Opposers* of that *Gentleman*, will not envy him the *Honour* your Excellency is pleased to confer upon him.

I have done with your Excellency's first Epistle.

I shall take notice next, of what the *Hyp-Doctor* is pleased to say in his Letter, which he has done me the Honour to address to me.

I find the Doctor, as well as your Excellency, is extreamly solicitous about the *Character* and *Reputation* of *Pericles* : I shall not, however, pretend to determine whether the Doctor's great Tenderness and Concern for this *able Statesman*, proceeds from the same Motive with your Excellency's, namely, from his apprehending that there may be some Room for a *Parallel* between *Pericles* and a *certain Gentleman*.

BE that as it will, the Doctor very gravely assures me, that Mr. *Nicolas Caussin* says, " *Pericles was a better Speaker than Thucydides.*" The Doctor adds, That " *Mr. Caussin thinks Thucydides himself learnt of Pericles.* "

Mr. *CAUSSIN* may for ought I know, be of this Opinion ; for I confess I never did, nor I believe ever shall, read *one Page* in all his *Works*. The Doctor in the next Place, most earnestly conjures me to read a Book, which

he

he says, was wrote by Mr. *Temple Stanyan* : I had formerly the Honour to know Mr. *Stanyan* ; but tho' I shall readily allow him to be a very worthy Man, I believe I shall hardly take the Pains to consult his Works for the most *Authentick Account of Pericles*.

LASTLY, the Doctor has found out, that *Plutarch* and *Gellius*, both attest that *Pericles* once, “ *would not perjure himself even for his Friend* : ” And yet, says the Doctor, Mr. *Budgell* calls him *unjust*. The Doctor does seem to allow, which is more than your Excellency has done, that *Pericles* was subject to a few *Foibles*. But says the Doctor, “ *Is Mr. Budgell, or the best Man upon Earth, exempt from Foibles?* ” If the Doctor should happen to be a *Clergyman*, (as some People shrewdly suspect,) and is of Opinion, that for a Statesman to rob the publick Treasury, to forge *Plots*, to ruin the most virtuous and valuable Men, to murder, to assassinate, to overturn the Con-

situation he was born under, and, lastly, to ruin his Country, are only *Foibles*; I say, if this is the Doctor's Opinion, I would most humbly recommend him to your Excellency for a *Chaplain*: 'Tis not impossible, but he might soon become a *rising Man* at the *Spartan Court*. The Doctor having sufficiently brightened the Character of *Pericles*, attempts next to blacken that of the late Lord *Oxford*, and is excessively displeased at my having said something in my Book, which, the Doctor seems to think, is too much to the Advantage of that *great Man*.

THE Doctor in particular, is highly provoked at my having observed, that the late Lord *Oxford* formed and established the *South-Sea Company*, and made Government Securities sell at *Par*, which were before at *forty per Cent.* discount.

THE Doctor has indeed, a little too much Modesty to deny this Fact; but then he assures

sures me, that my Lord Oxford took the Design from *Blount the Scrivener in Change-Alley*. I shall not pretend to determine from whence his Lordship took the Design; but with the Doctor's leave, I shall venture to repeat once more, what I have already said in my Book, *viz.* That " *the South-Sea Company, tho' it has been lately made an Instrument to perpetrate the greatest Iniquities, yet when it was first established, was perhaps as great a national Benefit, and might have been made to serve as noble Ends, as any one Thing that has been set on Foot by any English Minister in this Age.* "

THE Doctor, for certain Reasons, takes no manner of Notice of what I have made the most beautiful Part of the late Lord Oxford's Character, namely, that he never aimed at amassing a vast Estate from the Blood and Ruin of his Fellow-Subjects. It is certain, that upon the Occasion just men-

tioned, namely, the *establishing the South-Sea Company*, the late Lord Oxford might, if he had pleased, very easily have put a Million of Money into his own Pocket. I never yet heard him charged with having made the least *private Advantage* to himself, tho' so fair an Opportunity lay before him ; and I will venture to assure the Doctor, that his Lordship did not, at least, take *this Part* of his Conduct from any *Scrivener in Change-Alley*.

HOWEVER it may provoke either *your Excellency* or the *Doctor*, I shall make one farther Observation upon the Conduct of the late Earl of Oxford, *viz. That during his whole Administration, there was not one PLOT started, nor one STATE CRIMINAL executed.* He had perhaps the best *private Intelligence* of any *English Minister* since *Thurloe* : He was not unapprized of the Correspondence some great Men kept up in Foreign Parts, to oppose the Measures of

the late Queen ; nor was he ignorant of some *Extraordinary Resolutions* that were taken : He made no other Use of his Knowledge, but to prevent those *Resolutions* from being put in Execution : He even generously took an Occasion to say in Company, from whence he knew his Words would be carried, *That if he was a Cruel Man, he had it in his Power to take off some of the best Heads in Great Britain.*

I HAVE *Reasons* to believe, That what he said was literally *true*.

IN a Word, the late Lord *Oxford* neither entered into *shameful Confederacies* with Brokers and Stock-jobbers to plunder the Necessitous and Ignorant ; nor was the Author of *cruel Laws*, or *Sham-Plots*, to take away the *Lives* or *Liberties* of his Fellow-Subjects.

He kept his Hands suffused with MONEY,
and stained with BLOOD.

I have done with the Doctor; for as to his *personal Reflections*, since I am sensible I have been sometimes betrayed by such sort of *Reflections*, to say too much about myself, I shall take no manner of Notice of them.

I COME next to the learned Mr. Osborne.

I FIND Mr. Osborne is no less offended, than your Excellency, with that Part of my Book which relates to the *Liberty of the Press*; and is mighty provoked with my Quotation against Pericles, out of the Comick Poet called *Talectides*, and with my Story of Timoleon. I have acquainted my Readers, That Timoleon (who was as great and as successful an Assertor of Liberty, as ever yet appeared in the World) after he had depos'd a great Number of *Tyrants*, and restored

restored their *Freedom* to many unhappy *Ci-*
 ties and *Commonwealths*, hearing that one
Demasenes, of *Syracuse*, took all Opportu-
 nities to disparage his Conduct, and railed
 publickly against him, instead of taking
 any *Revenge*, as he might easily have done,
 declared, in a Transport of Joy, That the
 Gods had at last granted him the greatest
 Favour they could have conferred upon him,
 since it had been the constant Subject of his
 Prayers, That the *Syracusians* might enjoy
 so perfect a State of *Liberty*, that every
 Man among them might speak freely, and
 with Impunity, whatever he thought of an-
 other. Mr. *Osborne* assures us, " in the
 " Name of Common Sense, and with all due
 " Reverence to *Timoleon*, that this Liberty
 " ought not to be suffered." So that I find,
 the *unhappy Timoleon*, after all his glorious
 Toils in the Cause of *Liberty*, fought for a
 Thing he did not understand; and must be
 content, for the future, to be thought a *Mad-*
man, as well as another *poor Gentleman*, whom
 I could name.

YOUR

YOUR Excellency is also highly provoked at this *Story of Timoleon*. You advise me to look once again into *Plutarch's Lives*; and are so good as to inform me, what I find you are very *sure* of, viz. That " *I may be furnished with an English Translation of them at Mr. Tonsons.*" It happens, however, a little unluckily for your Excellency's *Jeff*, that I did not take the *Story of Timoleon* and *Demanetus* out of *Plutarch's Lives*: I took it from an Author who lived *many Years* before *Plutarch*. I have quoted this Author's *own Words*, in the *Language* he wrote; and though I have not set down his *Name* at the End of them, yet if your Excellency had ever read any Thing but *English Translations*, you might have made a Shift to have found him out.

I RETURN to Mr. Osborne.

THIS

THIS Learned Author has the Misfortune to be a little inconsistent with himself: He very frankly owns, in *one Part* of his Paper, That “*There ought to be no Restraint upon the Press:*” He even falls into a *Fit of Devotion* upon this Occasion. “*God forbid,* says Mr. Osborne, *That the PRESS should ever be in the Hands of the Government, or be limited by Power or Authority; for then we shall have nothing published but what Power and Authority think fit; then instead of established Truth, we may in other Reigns, and under other Administrations, have established Falshoods, and established Wickedness too.*”

To the above *Prayer*, I beg Leave to subjoin a most hearty *AMEN.* But yet, methinks, it is not so consistent with this *Devout Ejaculation*, for Mr. Osborne to declare, in another Part of his Paper, That the Authors of those Things, he is pleased to call *Infamous Libels*, (or in other Words, That

That the Authors of all such Things, as are wrote in Opposition to Mr. Osborne's Patron) ought to be punished.

IN one Part of his Paper, he condescends to assure us, That " *If we are not easy 'tis our own Faults :* " That " *We live in an Age and Country where Liberty is in its Ascendant :* " That " *We are the happy Nation who enjoy it to as much Perfection as Human Nature seems formed for :* " That " *Every Man's Property is as secure, as any Thing can be made in this World :* " That " *Every Man has also Liberty to examine into all Opinions, and search into all Subjects, Religious and Political.* " Yet, after this last fine Period, Mr. Osborne immediately adds " *I wish I could say this Liberty was FULL and PERFECT.* " I heartily wish I could say so too, and speak Truth. I likewise wish, That Mr. Osborne had vouchsafed to explain his own Meaning: It is very evident, from his own Words, that

that even in the *happy Age*, and under the *bleffed Administration* we now live, he does not think that the *Liberty of the Press*, which he owns is *Fundamental to all our other Liberties*, is either *full* or *perfect*.

WHAT is the Meaning of all this inconsistent Jargon? In order to let my Readers into the *Secret*, it is necessary I should inform them, that The Person who, under the Name of *Osborne*, would Weekly instruct the Town in *Politicks*, if he could but persuade them to read his Papers, is generally said to have a *Place* under the Government, and to be a *Freethinker*. It is thought that he is writing at present, in hopes to get some *better Preferment*; but finds it a little difficult to reconcile the *Deist* and the *Freethinker*, with the *fawning Sycophant* and the *Dependant Place-man*.

My *Principles* and *Politicks* are all of a piece; and I must still stick to that Definition of the *Liberty of the Press*, which I have given in my Letter to his *Spartan* Majesty. I take the *Liberty of the Press* to be a *Liberty* for every *Man* to communicate his *Sentiments* freely to the *Publick*, upon *Political* or *Religious Points*.

IN those Countries where Men are the greatest *Slaves*, they may write as much, and in what Manner they please, upon any Subjects but *Religion* and *Politicks*: A Man may publish his Thoughts with the *utmost Freedom*, either in *Turky* or *Denmark*, upon the *Nature of Butterflies*, or the *Virtues of the Loadstone*.

I AM for allowing Mr. Osborne full *Liberty* to attack either the *Bisbop of London*, or Doctor *Waterland*, in what Manner he pleases: If he is not much better versed in

Church-

Church-History, than in *Politicks*, he is not a very formidable Enemy. I hope our established Church does not want such Arguments for her Support as Fines, Prisons, Racks, and Faggots: I hope our Clergy are at least able to shew that she has as few Errors, as any of her Neighbours; that it is necessary we should have some Religion among us; and that if we would change for the better, it must not be for any Religion that is at present established in any Country in *Europe*,

I HAVE a thorough Abhorrence for Cruelty and Persecution; and yet (with Mr. Osborne's Leave) I would, methinks, have it almost as penal to examine freely and fairly the *Conduct* and *Character* of *Jesus Christ*, as of Sir *R—t W—e*.

So much for Mr. Osborne.

I PROCEEDED with Fear and Trembling to consider the Performance of the polite Mr. Walsingham; because this Gentleman seems to be the *Orlando Furioso* of your Excellency's Party:

If the World will believe Mr. Walsingham, I am, " the most exalted Genius in " Grub-Street; the deepest Politician in " Bedlam; and a most erudite Graduate in " both those Universities." I am also the " signal Representative, and Plenipotentiary of all the Powers of Grub-Street; " Bedlam's Prophet; and Ambassador " extraordinary from the Fleet-Prison." But I am afraid, my Readers would think it looked too much like *Vanity*, should I enumerate one half of those illustrious Titles, with which this ingenious Author, out of his abundant Goodness, has thought fit to dignify me: Mr. Walsingham is likewise very positive, that the Petition which

which I presented to the King of Great Britain almost a Twelve Month since, was an
 " humble and modest Request, to remove
 " a certain Great Man from his Presence
 " and Councils for ever: And that my late
 " Voluminous Work, fairly printed, entitled
 " A Letter to the King of Sparta, which is
 " to be sold for so small a Price as Seven
 " Shillings and Six Pence, is as yet un-
 " sullied with Fingers."

INSTEAD of attempting to *Answer* all these fine *Things*, I shall only presume to give my Readers, a short *Key* for the better understanding of them.

I AM credibly informed, that one Mr. *R. M.* of whom I have taken some notice in my *Letter to the King of Sparta*, the Honourable *Francis Walsingham Esq;* and an *Attorney's Clerk*, who lately *eloped* from his *Master*, and has ever since been *protected* by a *great Man*, and paid a weekly Allow-

ance from the T——y ; I say, I am credibly informed that these *three* most learned and most illustrious Persons, are indeed but *one* and the same Man ; who for the Benefit and Instruction of the good People of *England*, writes a *Weekly* Political Paper, and takes care to deliver it *gratis*, to such *Coffee-Houses* as are willing to receive it.

THIS polite Author is so intirely employed about paying his *personal Civilities* to me, that he has taken notice but of *one Passage* in all my *Book*. Tho' Mr. *Walsingham* is one of the best-bred Men alive, I have it seems unhappily incurred his high Displeasure, for what I have said in Favour of the late *L——d B——ke*. It is certain, however, that *I have not said* what this honourable Author is so good as to *make me say* ; and it is as certain, that tho' the Friends of the late *L——d B——ke* seem to think *I have said too little* of him, and his Enemies are of an Opinion *I have said too much*,

much, yet that indifferent People do allow what I have said is *just*: What I have really said of this great Man, such of my Readers may see as will give themselves the Trouble to look into my *Letter to the King of Sparta*: To which, with your Excellency's Permission, and Mr. Walsingham's Leave, I shall presume to add thus much: I have heard impartial People allow that the late L—d B—ke has at least as much *Honour* and *Honesty*, as a certain *Man* whom I could Name: I have heard his very Enemis allow; he has ten Times a better *Capacity*; and all the World knows, when he was in Power, (being conscious perhaps, that his own Genius was superior to most Mens,) he was so far from being *jealous* or *afraid* of Men of *Parts* and *Learning*, that these were the Men whom he endeavoured to introduce into Business, both at *Home* and *Abroad*, and to get preferred in the *Church*, and the *State*.

I NEVER received the least Favour either from this Gentleman, or the late Lord Carlford: It is well known, that when they were both in Power, I opposed their Measures with those little Talents Heaven has bestowed upon me.

I WAS made to believe they were bringing in the Pretender, and could not be quiet while I thought the Protestant Succession was in Danger; tho' I have Reason to believe, I might have got much more by sitting still, than ever Mr. Walsingham will by writing. I shall very frankly own, and I believe I speak the Sense of Thousands of my Fellow-Subjects, that *some* Things which I have seen since the Death of the late Queen, and which I could never once have believed, have given me a much better Opinion, than I had formerly, both of her Majesty's last Ministry, and of the Peace of Utrecht.

To

To return to Mr. *Walsingham*.

I SHALL take but little Notice of his elaborate Performances, for two Reasons ; First, That I may avoid talking of *myself*, for I must talk of *nothing else*, if I attempted to answer Mr. *Walsingham* : And, Secondly, Because I must ingenuously confess (however it mortifies me,) that I look upon a great Part of this Gentleman's Writing to be *unanswerable*.

I WILL give my Readers a short Specimen of his *Manner*, to confirm what I have said.

Mr. *Walsingham* has made a very large Collection out of several publick Papers, which, he says, have all of them mentioned the *Book* I lately published, intituled, *A Letter to the King of Sparta* ; and Mr. *Walsingham* is pleased to think, that I wrote all

these Things myself. I hope, however, he is so generous an Adversary as to vouch for me, that I did not write his *own Letter*, should any of my Enemies charge me with it, as I am terribly afraid some of them will.

If the several *Papers* and *Writers*, reckoned up by Mr. *Walsingham*, have really mentioned my Book in the Manner he says, I am sure, he has told me some Particulars I never heard of before.

WHAT I know, is, That the *Craftsman* and Mr. *Fog* have been lately pleased to make my Book the Subject of two of their Papers; yet, I am humbly of Opinion, that the Town will do me the *Justice* to believe me, when I solemnly declare, (as I now do) that I neither knew the Design of either of those Gentlemen, nor one Syllable that was in either of their Papers, till I saw them in *Print* with the rest of the World.

It has been ever reckoned no small Piece of Judgment in a General, to make a proper Choice of the Place he is to engage in, and to fight, if possible, upon a Spot of Ground, from whence he may *annoy* his Enemies with little or no *Danger* to himself.

A CUNNING Disputant ought to observe the same Rule; and in my Opinion, Mr. Wallingham seems to surpass, not only all his Brethren, but even to excel your Excellency in this particular Point of Conduct.

He falls upon me in his Letter, with great Dexterity, and in the following Words :

“ *In fifteen hundred Suits, or thereabout,*
 “ *at Common Law, Actions of Trespass*
 “ *and Trover, Debt and Defamation, in half*
 “ *a thousand Chancery Causes, Writs of*
 “ *Error, Appeals to Parliament, Cum Mul-*
 “ *tis, aliis; all which he was concerned in,*

“ never was his Name once heard of, but
“ either as Plaintiff or Defendant.”

WHAT Man alive can answer an *Attorney's Clerk*, who is so immoderately witty in his own *Way*?

MR. *Walsingham* having utterly demolished me as a *Counsellor*, in the Manner your Excellency sees, proceeds next to ruin my Reputation as a *Scholar*. He assures all his Readers, and I presume upon his *own Knowledge*, That

“ MR. *Budgell* translated *Theophrastus*
“ from the French, and entitled himself
“ by that accurate Work to the Fame of
“ consummate Skill in the Greek.” I take
this to be the most *unkind* and *cruel* Part of
all his *Epistle*. He has here taken from me
all Possibility of defending my self upon this
Head; for what Defence can the most impa-
dene

dent Thief alive make, when he is caught and detected in the very Act of Stealing ?

I MIGHT indeed alledge, That one Mr. *Addison* has declared in the 294th Page of the fourth Volume of his Works, that my *Translation of Theophrastus* was the best Translation he ever saw of any *Prose Author*; that his Reasons for thinking so take up several Pages; that he has even taken the Pains to compare my Translation with the *French* Translation of the celebrated Monsieur *Bruyere*, and has said such Things in Preference of the former, as I will not trouble your Excellency with quoting.

To what Purpose should I mention them ! Since this same Mr. *Addison*, is well known to have been just such another *Grub*, as those *Grubs of Athens*, with whom your Excellency informs us, that *able Statesman* Pericles had the Misfortune to be pestered.

As a plain Demonstration, that this Mr. Addison was just such a *Grub* as those *Grubs of Athens*, upon whom your Excellency is so very seyere ; I am pretty well assured, that, once upon a Time, he drew the Pictures of a certain *able Statesman* and his *Brother*, after the *Grotesque Manner* ; and in Imitation of the History of *Don Quixot* and *Sancho Pancha*. I am pretty certain, that some *good Judges* were of Opinion, he never wrote any Thing in all his Life with more *Wit* and *Humour* ; that his *Papers* are still *in Being* ; and that it is not impossible, but that one Day or other they may see the *Light*.

I AM sensible the Authority of so errant a *Grub*, would have no manner of Weight either with your Excellency, or with the learned and honourable *Francis Walsingham* Esq;

I SHALL therefore leave this ingenious Gentleman in full Possession of his *Victory*, and the *Field of Battle* ; and proceed to the
Consi-

Consideration of your Excellency's *Second Epistle*, lately published in the *Daily Courant*.

MR. *Fog*, in his *Journal* of the Twentieth of the last Month, has some Considerations on the Conduct and Character of the late Lord *Oxford*; and in the Opinion of most Men, has made it very evident, that the late Earl of *Oxford* was not the *worst Minister Great Britain* ever saw; nor, the *Treaty of Utrecht* the most *dishonourable Treaty* she ever made.

MR. *Fog*, while he is upon these two Heads, has inserted in his *Journal* a pretty long *Quotation* out of my *Letter to the King of Sprata*: Some People are humbly of Opinion, That it plainly appears from *this Quotation*, that our Affairs were by no Means in a *despicable Condition* after the *Peace of Utrecht*; nay more, that It is very evident, that if we had but acted with

common

common Prudence, and made a right Use of a most glorious Opportunity which Providence lately offered us, we might have divided the House of *Bourbon*, have been the Favourite Nation with *Spain*, have had all imaginable Indulgence in our *Trade to the Indies*, have been in Possession of the most valuable Commerce in the World, and at this Time, properly speaking, have held the *Ballance of Europe*.

Mr. *Fog* concludes his Paper with some Remarks upon the present *Earl of Oxford* and his *Lady*; and with the Character given of the late Lord *B —ke* by the late Mr. *Addison*, which I have mention'd in my Letter to his *Spartan* Majesty.

YOUR Excellency was, it seems, so highly offended at this Paper of Mr. *Fog*'s, that you could not forbear resuming your Pen; and to this fortunate Accident the Publick is obliged for your *second Epistle*.

INSTEAD

INSTEAD of answering any one Paragraph in Mr. Fog's Paper, your Excellency has thought proper to assure all your Readers, that Mr. Fog himself is a *Villain*, that the late L---d B---ke is a *Fool*, and that I am a *Mad-Man*. I am in some little Doubt, whether, if your Excellency was not a Person of Quality, this Method of Writing would pass either for *Wit*, or *Humour*, or *Argument*, or *Learning*; but in your Excellency's present Situation, it would be a Sin to doubt of your having your *Admirers*.

I SMALL leave Mr. Fog and the late L---d B---ke to answer for themselves, being inclined to fancy, that either of them is very capable of doing so, if he should think it worth his while.

As to my own Particular, I am so very far from presuming to contradict your Excellency,

lency, or to dispute my being a *Mad Man*, that I shall give up *this Point*, in the strongest Terms that your Excellency can possibly desire. I do hereby grant, and am fully persuaded, that whenever the King of *Sparta*, or your Excellency, thinks proper to affirm *I am a Mad Man*, this Proposition is full as *true* as *nineteen Parts in twenty* of whatever either of you say, either in *publick Assemblies or common Conversation.*

HAVING given up this Point in as full a Manner as either his *Spartan* Majesty, or your Excellency, can possibly expect; it only remains, that I should advise both of you how to make the best of it. Should any Man for the future presume to call either your *Generosity* or *good Nature* into Question, you may now give an undeniable Instance of both. If you had not kindly acquainted the World with my being a *Mad Man*, it is not impossible but some Body or other, deceived by one of my *lucid Intervals*

(in

(in which your Excellency allows I have some Appearance of *Reason*) might have employed me in the *Business of my Profession*. It is likewise possible I might not so easily have got Lodgings in that *Place*, which is most proper for me in my present Condition: But it is now to be hoped, that all whom it concerns, will be edified by that Part of your Excellency's *Story of the Mad Parson*, where your Excellency says, "That by the Com-
" passion of his Creditors, he was removed
" from the Fleet to Bedlam."

ONE *plain Fact* is, and ought to be more convincing than a *thousand Arguments*; and I will venture to assert, that there is not a Man in *England* of common Sense, who, if he will but reflect with how *uncommon* a *Generosity* and *Compassion* the *King of Sparta* and your Excellency have acted towards me in *this Particular*, must not be fully satisfied, how unlikely it is you should set *Attorneys* upon me, in order to *ruin me*; and, in a Word,

Word, how incapable either of you is of any Action that is either base, wicked, or cruel.

Your Excellency concludes your Epistle with a most diverting Story ; and gives us an Account of a most entertaining Conversation between *yourself* and a *Mad Person* within the Walls of *Bedlam*.

The Author of the *Grubstreet Journal*, in his last Paper, has most wickedly and maliciously observed, that since from your own Account of your *being in Bedlam*, (which you tell us was *when the Duke of Marlborough's Glory was in its Meridian Lustre*,) you must have been there about the Year 1709, it is a little odd, that the *Mad Person*, who, it seems, at that Time was your Excellency's *Companion*, should appeal to *Gibson's Codex*, and fancy you had read *Bobun upon Tishos* ; because the *first* of these Books

Books was not published till the Year 1713, and the *last* of them not till 1730.

I think it will be sufficient to silence this Impudent Author, if your Excellency acquaints him, that you write like a *Person of Quality*, and do not take yourself to be confined by such *Rules*, as this *poultry Fellow*, and the *Grubs of Athens*, might think themselves obliged to observe. If this is not sufficient to silence him, I would advise your Excellency boldly to insist upon the *Right* of your Family to *blunder*; and if he dares dispute this Point, he must have more Assurance than any one Man in *England*.

HOWEVER, to avoid being troubled with the impertinent Cavils of this *busie Critick* for the future, I should advise your Excellency, before you give us another *Story*, to persuade some of your Friends who under-

stand *Latin*, to tell you the *English* of the following *Precept* in *Horace*:

*Ficta Voluptatis Causâ sint proxima veris:
Nec quodcunque volet poscat sibi Fabula
credi.*

YOUR Excellency's *Friend*, the *Mad Parson*, is plainly endued with a *Spirit of Prophecy*; and seems to have been the most *knowing Man* in *Great Britain*. Your Character of him would tempt one to believe that the Account is literally true, which one of our Poets has given us of *Bedlam*:

*Where wrapp'd in Contemplation, and in
Straw,*

The Wiser Few from the Mad World withdraw.

What may serve to confirm us in this Opinion, is your Excellency's having acquainted us, that you made Choice of the *Long Gallery*

terry in this Edifice, as a fit Place for your *Contemplative Walks*; and it seems that this Place afforded your Excellency several wise *Reflections* upon the *Deformity of Human Nature*.

THE happy *Fruits* of these your Excellency's *Reflections* and *Contemplations* have so evidently appeared in your *Speeches* and *Negotiations*, that I make no manner of doubt but Posterity will look upon the *Long Gallery in Bedlam*, with the same *Veneration* the *Romans* did upon the *sacred Grove*, in which *Numa* is said to have conversed with the Goddess *Egeria*; and where, in his *Contemplative Walks*, he formed those *Laws*, which were so highly *beneficial* to the *Commonwealth*.

THAT I may not seem guilty of a Breach of Good Manners, I shall return your Excellency a *Story* for that which you have been so kind as to bestow upon me; and since I find your Excellency, like other *Modern Politicians*, has a strong Aversion to all *Greek*

and Latin Authors, I will not take the Story I send you out of any of those abject and heathenish Fellows.

IN my *Letter to the King of Sparta*, I have given some Account of *China*, and the *Chinese*: I have observed that the Extent of this mighty Empire, the Number of its Inhabitants, the Beauty and Largeness of its Cities, and its prodigious Commerce, are almost incredible: That the learned *Vossius* was of Opinion, the capital City of *China*, including the Suburbs, contained more Inhabitants than all *Europe*; and that the *Chinese* infinitely excelled all the *Europeans* in *Arts and Sciences*.

I HAVE shewn that tho' *Monsieur Vossius* was perhaps a little too extravagant in his Commendations of *China*, yet that 'tis pretty evident that Empire has many more Inhabitants than all *Europe* put together: That 'tis very certain, the *Chinese* had *Bell*-
Gun-

Gunpowder, the Loadstone, the Use of the Compass, and the Art of Printing, among them for many Ages before any of these Things were known in Europe: But that what they are universally allowed, even at this Day, to excel all other Nations in, is, *The Art of Government.*

I HAVE shewn that in *China*, no Man is a Gentleman by his Birth, but that the *Mandarines*, or Gentlemen, become such by their own *Parts* and *Learning*: That the utmost *Care* and *Impartiality* is used to examine whether a Man is really qualified to be a *Mandarine*, before he is admitted into an *Order* which is so truly *Honourable*: That out of these *Mandarines*, distinguished by their Habit and Language, the most considerable Officers are chosen for all Civil and Military Employments: That the *Crown* itself is not *hereditary*; but that if the Emperor has several Sons, and finds the Youngest of them all to have the *best Capacity*,

he adopts him for his Successor : That if he has no Son of a Capacity fit to govern so vast an Empire, he makes Choice of some other Person to succeed him, from a firm Belief, that he cannot do his own Children a greater Kindness, than to prevent their appearing in that high Station, which must render their Defects visible to all the World ; and that he should be guilty of a Crime, the *Supreme God*, the Almighty *Cham Ti*, would never forgive, if he permitted so many Millions of People to be made miserable by the *Weakness* and *Incapacity* of one Man.

I HAVE shewn that the *Liberty* of the *Peas*, is the most fundamental Part of this glorious and happy Constitution : That the *Emperor* himself, by his being well assured that all his Faults will be displayed and recorded in the *Chronicles of China*, is obliged to act in a Manner truly becoming his high Post, if he has the least Regard for his *Honour* or *Reputation*.

TON-

TONQUIN is a Kingdom which borders upon one of the Provinces of *China*, called *Tunam*. The People of *Tonquin* learnt the Art of Printing several Ages since, from their Neighbours the *Chinese*: They express the same Reverence for the Memory of that great Philosopher and Statesman, the divine *Confucius*; they likewise use the same Character with the *Chinese*, and endeavour to imitate several of their Customs and Manners. Learning, *Arts*, and *Sciences*, are upon a good Foot in the Kingdom of *Tonquin*: This Kingdom is the Scene of that Story, which I design as a Present for your Excellency; and with which I shall conclude my Letter.

ABOUT Three Hundred Years since, a certain Prince reigned in *Tonquin*, who, tho' he had many Great and Royal Virtues, yet seduced by a Spirit of *Indolence*, which he too much indulged in his declining Years, he al-

most wholly withdrew himself from the Care of Government, and while he was chiefly intent upon his private Pleasures, intrusted the Administration of all publick Affairs to the Care and Conduct of his first Minister, whose Name was *Xunchi*. This Man, tho' of an *ordinary Capacity*, by a certain *Affiduity* and *Forwardness* which were natural to him, had found Means to work himself into his Prince's Favour. He had, for some Time, Gunning enough to hide the worst and most odious of his Vices; but being now intrusted with the Supreme Power in the Kingdom of *Tingquin*, he flung off the Mask, and shewed himself in his full Deformity and Insolence. As he was conscious of his own *Defects*, and want of *Capacity*, for the high Station in which he acted, one of the first Things he did, was to remove every Man from publick Business whose *Talents* or *Behaviour* he imagined would prove a Reflection upon his own; His next Business was to render the *Supreme Coun-*

Council of Tonquin, which consisted of sixty six Members, entirely at his Devotion: To this End he filled the Council with his own Creatures; and by allowing each of them a Yearly Pension, kept them in a constant Dependence upon himself. He now gave the Reins to his own infatiable Avarice, and daily loaded the miserable Tonquinese with new *Imposts* and *Taxes*: Out of these he allowed the good old King Money enough to support him in a State of Ease and Luxury, and put the Remainder into his own *Pocket*. He grew so immensely Rich in a few Years, that his Wealth exceeded even the King of Siams, one of the richest Princes in that Part of the World. In the mean Time the Affairs of the Kingdom of Tonquin were reduced to a miserable Condition. I have already observed, that *Xun-chi*'s mean Jealousy would not suffer him to employ any Man of Capacity in publick Business: The Men therefore that he sent abroad

abroad as Ambassadors, or Envoys, became a Jeſt to the Neighbouring Nations.

THE Person he ſent to the Emperor of *China*, was only looked upon in the Quality of a *Buffoon*, at that polite and learned Court. The Kingdom of *Tonquin* was over-reached in every Treaty, where her Interests were debated; and every Nation in *India* laid hold of the Opportunity, which the Administration of *Xunchi* afforded them, to rob her of ſome *Branch* of her TRADE. The Reputation of her *Military Virtue* declined, as fast as that of her Councils. *Xunchi* who regarded nothing but his own *Interest*; and who was no *Soldier*, was ſo ſensible that a Man who commanded the Forces of *Tonquin* muſt be of ſome Weight, have frequent *Access* to the King, and make a Figure in the *Administration*; that he could not endure the Name, or the Thoughts of a *Captain-General* of the *Army*: He rather chose to ſee the Kingdom of *Tonquin* waſted

wasted, and insulted on all Sides, by the Siamese, the *Tartars*, and the *Coreans*.

IN the mean Time the Cries of the People of *Tonquin* grew loud and general: They saw their *Taxes* daily *increasing*, while their *Trade* was every where *decaying*; they saw themselves insulted by their *Enemies*, and slighted by their *old Allies*: They were sensible that *Xunchi*'s Administration was the *Cause* of all their *Miseries*: They knew their King was good, generous, and merciful; but *Xunchi* had so surrounded him with his own *Creatures* and *Relations*, that it was impossible for them to convey their *Complaints* to his Ears. Their miserable Circumstances made them daily load the *Cause* of all their Misfortunes with Millions of Curses. The Men of *Parts* and *Learning* throughout the Kingdom of *Tonquin* struck in with the Resentments of the People. These Gentlemen were sensible that it was their Interest, in a more *particular* Manner, to hunt down the

the wicked Minister. They had long observed, that those Talents and Capacities, which in any neighbouring Countries (and even in *Tongquin* formerly) would have recommended them to the *Favour* of their *Prince* and the *Publick*, did but expose them to the implacable *Cruelties* and *Jealousy* of the wicked *Xunchi*: They had found by Experience, that there was no *Crime* upon Earth which this Minister was not more ready to *pardon*, than the least Appearance of a Genius above the Vulgar. Some of them who had given *Proofs* of their *Capacities* in his *Service*, found themselves not only neglected with a most scandalous *Ingratitude*, but marked out for Destruction with an *unrelenting Cruelty*. In a Word, the Antipathy of *Xunchi* to Men of *Parts* and *Learning* was so well known and so notorious, that during his Administration it became a Proverb throughout the whole Kingdom of *Tongquin*, That *the only Way to get ANY THING, was to be good for NOTHING*. The finest *Wits* and *Peers* in *Tongquin*

Tongquin, upon all these Considerations, added
 Fuel to the Resentments of the People : They
 drew the *Picture* of Xunchi in its proper
 Colours ; and their own personal Injuries
 adding an uncommon *Spirit* to their Writings,
 made the several Pieces they published read
 and admired by all the People. The Minis-
 ter found himself pushed on all Sides : He
 saw that the Writings which were published
 against him, and contained the *severest*
Truths, made him every Day more odious
 to the People ; and he began to fear that
 some of these Writings might, at last, fall in-
 to the Hands of his *Royal Master*, and prove
 fatal to his *Greatness*, by laying open his
Conduct. To prevent these Consequences,
 he resolved to abolish the *Liberty of the*
Press ; and founded some particular Members
 of the Council upon this Head : To his in-
 finite *Surprise* and *Mortification* he found
 that those Men who had hitherto gone all
Lengths with him, refused to take this *Step* :
 They told him plainly, *They durst not do*
 it :

it: That the People of Tonquin, who were so great Admirers of the *Constitution of China*, would never endure so notorious a *Badge of Slavery*: That the meanest Man in the Kingdom would have Sense enough to see, that when a *Gag* was put into the Mouth of *Liberty*, it could be with no other *Design*, but to prevent her *Squawling* while she was *murdered*. They therefore advised him to encounter his Adversaries with their own *Weapons*; and represented to him, that it was impossible but a Man who was possessed of so *many Millions*, must find *proper Advocates* to plead his *Cause*. *Xunchi* resolved for once to follow their Advice: He picked out some *chosen Men*, whom he looked upon to be the *brightest* of his *Blockheads*, and settled a *Pension* upon each of them to write *Panegyricks* upon him, and to defend his *Conduct*. Their *Performances* no sooner appeared in Publick, that they were received with the *Hisses*, the *Laughter*, the *Scorn*, and the *Contemp*

of the whole Kingdom of Tonquin : They served to no other End, than to afford the Enemies of the Minister *fresh* Subjects for their *Satires* : Every Thing that looked like an *Argument* in his Defence, was immediately *confuted*. If any *Part* of his Conduct was *doubtful* before, it was now plainly *demonstrated* to be all of a *Piece*, and equally *wicked* and *absurd*. His Adversaries, who had unluckily got Possession, not only of the *right Side of the Question*, but of all the *Wit* and *Learning* that appear'd in the *Dispute*, exposed his *Weaknesses*, and shew'd him to the People in so many *ridiculous Lights*, that whereas at first he was only universally *hated*, he now grew to be most heartily *despised*. The *Statesman* (though his *Head* was none of the *clearest*, as I have already observed) had just *Sense* enough to perceive the infinite Difference between the *Stile* and *Writings* of those who *attacked*, and those who *defended* him. He found himself but in an ill Way ; and that it was next to impossible to hold out

long

long at this Rate. He one Day took the Matter into his serious Consideration in one of his *Contemplative Walks* : He reflected, that his *Reputation*, which was never very great, either for *Honesty* or *Poleticks*, lost Ground apace ; that his *Vices* and *Blunders* became every Day more apparent, and his *Character* more *ridiculous* ; that *no Defence at all*, was much better than a *filly one* ; that in the first *Case*, every *Man* was apt enough to suggest to himself the best *Arguments*, which in his own *Opinion* might be urged in *favour* of a *Person* accused ; that saying *nothing* to what was alledged against him, would at least carry the *Appearance* of a *noble Dif-
fidence*, and look as if he could have answered his *Adversaries*, if he had not thought it beneath him to take notice of them ; but that all the ridiculous *Trash* which was now *daily* wrote in his *Defence* without *Argument*, without *Wit*, and without *Learning*, and which even his few *Friends* began to be weary of *read-
ing*, did but most evidently shew the *Weak-
ness*

ness of his *Cause*, and expose him to the repeated Insults of his Enemies.

UPON all these *Reflections*, which were some of the *wisest* he ever made in his Life, he determined to impose *Silence* upon all those notable Champions, who were at present so busy in his Defence. He summoned them all to meet him in his Apartment. His *Blockheads* soon came about him ; and the *Statesman* having taken his *Place* at the upper End of the Table, bespoke the *Assembly* in these Words :

My worthy Friends,

THOUGH I am very sensible of your good Will towards me, and shall ever retain a grateful Sense of all your Favours, yet at present, for some Reasons of State, which it is not so proper I should communicate to you, I must desire you will suspend your Labours in my Behalf. I intreat you, My most Worthy Friends, no longer to throw away your inestimable Writings upon a Peo-

ple so stupid and ungrateful as the Tonquinese; and this is the Reason of my calling you together.

It is scarce possible to express the Surprise of the Assembly upon this Harangue of the Statesman's; every Man appear'd thunder-struck, from a just Apprehension, that since their *Labours* and *Assistance* were no longer desired, their several *Pensions* would drop of Course. There was one of the Company, whose Name was *Chachao*, who, though he was no less a *Blockhead* than the rest of them, had so strong a *Dash of the Coxcomb*, that it gave him a certain *Vivacity*, which his Brethren seemed to want. While the whole Assembly continued silent, *Chachao* rising up, addressed himself to the *Statesman* in the following Manner,

Most

Most Illustrious and Most Honourable Politician,

THOUGH I have not long been conversant in Politicks, I think I know what your Honour is driving at, and can guess at those Reasons of State, which you say it is not so proper you should communicate to us: Though your Honour has too much Good Nature and Complaisance to speak out, yet, if I divine aright, your Honour is not thoroughly satisfy'd with our Labours and Performances. I hope your Honour will not take it amiss, if I speak to you with a more than usual Freedom upon this Head.

What is to be done by Men, I think I and my Brethren are capable of doing: For my own Part, though I confess that some of my Works, before I wrote Politicks to serve your Honour, have not been received in the Manner they deserved by the whimsical Tonquinesc, yet, had Providence permitted me to have been born in China, I cannot

well doubt, but I had at present stood in one of the first Classes of the Mandarines, and been possessed of one of the first Posts in a Nation that knows how to value Men of Merit. In a Word, Sir, permit me to be so free as to tell you, that I could wish, instead of being dissatisfy'd with our Labours, you would be pleased to reform your own Conduct. It is in this Particular that our Adversaries have a confounded Advantage over us. To say the Truth, Sir, your Conduct is such, in some certain Particulars, that if the Great Confucius himself was living, he could not defend it with all his Rhetorick. Far be it from me, Most Illustrious Statesman, to desire you should come up to those Notions of Honour, Honesty, or Wisdom, which we find in the Books of some of our Philosophers : Youchsafe but to render your Conduct at least a little doubtful, to give my worthy Brethren and myself but one Inch of Ground to set our Feet upon, and your Honour shall soon see how we will maul, defeat, and abolish thoseaultry Scribblers, those insignificant Puppies, those Villains, those

those Fools, and those Madmen, who run away at present with the Applauses of the People, and have the Insolence to triumph over us.

WHEN *Chachao* had spoke thus, he sat down ; and it was very plain by the Satisfaction which appeared in the Looks of his Brethren, that he had spoke the *Sense* of all of them.

THE *Statesman* could keep his Temper upon Occasion : He did not come there to *quarrel*, or to lose his *Friends*. Though the Oration of *Chachao* a little discomposed him at first, he soon recovered himself, and with a *gracious Smile*, spoke as follows :

My

My Worthy Friends,

I Can take nothing amiss from Gentlemen who, I am sure, wish me well, and whose Interests are united to my own: I shall, therefore freely confess in this Assembly, that I am afraid my Conduct, in some certain Particulars, has not been quite so wise as it should have been. I take Shame to myself: I acted according to my own poor Way of Thinking. I shall not pretend at present to enter into the Consideration, how far the worst of Causes may assume a specious Completion in able Hands; or how far the best of Causes may suffer by the Management of a weak or unskillful Advocate: But I perceive there is one Mistake which my worthy Friends have run into, and which I must not suffer them to labour under any longer: Far be it from me, My most Worthy Friends, to think of retrenching your Pensions; though I must desire you to desist for some Time from your Labours. Such of you as have like-

wise

wise any Posts in the Government, may depend upon keeping them, while Xunchi keeps his Power. I am not a Stranger to your several Abilities; and assure you, without Flattery, that each of you has all the necessary Qualifications I desire to find in Men, who I wish may constantly share with me the Government and the publick Revenues of the Kingdom of Tonquin. All I desire of you is, that from henceforth you will employ both your Money and your Time in Drinking, in Whoring, in Gaming, in Building Houses, in Making Gardens, or, in short, in whatever Manner your different Taffes invite you to; but for God's sake DON'T DEFEND ME.

YOUR Excellency has concluded your Story, like a methodical Writer, with the Moral and Application of it; but you cannot expect that a poor Lunatick should proceed in so regular a Manner. The Story I have told your Excellency is the first Thing that happened to pop into the Head of a Mad-Man.

I send